4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



583 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired
184 in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a
611 rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of
428 Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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the mountains and of the plains, enjoy, as has been seen, much greater liberty than their sisters of the towns. With the exception of the Miridites, social intercourse with members of the other sex is not denied to them, and, like the Greek and Vlach maidens, they tend the flocks on the hills, fetch water from the fountain, and lead a life generally of healthy industry.

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[184]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

## CHAPTER IX.

### ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 The domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly,
● 184 according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already
181 seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man
[554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate
[754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her.
843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the
184 marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem-Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accom-
584 panied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,[1] I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

[1] Vol. i. chap. iii.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



including boots and shoes of yellow leather embroidered with gold, together with a loaf of sugar, some coffee, and other customary trifles. The *dunti* is carried by two boys belonging to the bridegroom's family, both of whose parents must be living. As they arrive at the house the women and girls sing a song beginning :

> O flaxen one, far whiter
> Than foam on Drin's wave-crest,
> —— sends to thee the *dunti*,
> All in a golden chest.

All the members of the family receive the boys at the foot of the staircase with every mark of respect, and conduct them to the reception-room. As the *dunti* is placed on a coffer, all present cry, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!) The envoys are seated in the place of honour, while all the family of the bride remain standing; refreshments, consisting of liqueurs and bonbons, are served twice, complimentary speeches are exchanged, and after about an hour of polite attentions, the boys depart. On the same day a youth is despatched by the bridegroom's parents to invite the guests for the following Monday. The formula he makes use of is—"So-and-so is to be married, and begs you to come next Monday to the wedding with all your family, or, if you prefer it, let the head of the family come alone." At each house he receives in return for his invitation a present of a few piastres. The number of persons invited by each family is fixed according to the degree of kinship or friendship existing between them and the bridegroom's family.

The bride's family send out their invitations in the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the interviews between the young couple, who, especially if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glittering with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Osmanli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



585 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music
184 echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 The funeral observances of the Albanians also re-
171 semble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the
763 survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

[1] Chapter III. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiele*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [253] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

● [184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

## POSTSCRIPT

known in European history by his Turkish name of Iskander Bey Scanderbeg—who successfully revolted against Turkey and maintained Albanian independence for twenty-five years, defeating the Turks in thirteen great battles and innumerable small ones. After his death in 1467 some of the chiefs of the central mountain tribes, exhausted by a quarter century of war and confronting fresh Turkish armies, purchased their actual independence by a verbal submission and became nominally Mohammedan. When the Bechtaski sect—which may roughly be said to bear the relation to Islam that the Methodist bears to the Church of Rome—rose in Turkey, it found its most fertile ground among these Mohammedan Albanians. The northern mountain tribes have always remained Roman Catholic, and southern Albania Greek Catholic.

None of these creeds, however, have affected national unity—Albania is the only Balkan country in which religion and nationality are not synonymous—and all of them are rooted shallowly above the old religion of Albanians, which is the formless belief in a Great Unknown from which sprang the gods and mythology of ancient Greece. In southern Albania you will still hear the people taking oath *per kete djelle eghe per kete hene* (by the power of the sun and the moon). You will still hear them calling upon Zeus—Zaa or Zee, the Voice—and upon Athena—E Thana, The Intelligence. In the north, the Catholic mountaineer greets the rising sun with the sign

[See cat. 795, pp. [293] 292-293 --Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

## POSTSCRIPT

of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl



tained their independence for six centuries within the Turkish Empire look with distrust and contempt on the Toshks whose valleys have been flooded by every wave of invaders. The Toshks, who are the educated men of Albania, and the travelers, are equally contemptuous of the Ghegs, ignorant men unable to read or write. Nor do the Toshks admit that they cannot fight as well as the Ghegs. It was the Toshks in Sicily who fought with Garibaldi, the Toshks of Egypt who fought with Mehmet Ali; the Albanian soldiers in Russia and Rumania and Turkey are Toshk; the 50,000 Albanians in the United States are Toshk, and fought well with the Americans in France. Hundreds of them have returned to spread American ideas through the south; there are Toshk villages in which American English is spoken by nearly every child. Men from these villagers led the forces that drove the Italians from Valona in 1920. Indeed, say the Toshks, they can fight as well as Ghegs. But it is not fighting that Albania needs.

One of the errors about Albania, to which I fear my descriptions may contribute is the belief that the country is entirely mountainous. This is true of the northern part, adjoining Montenegro. Farther south the ranges are like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable, they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land, much of it irrigated. The climate of the valleys is semitropical; rice, cotton, tobacco, citrus fruits, figs, and pomegranates

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1



comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally computed at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputation of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassadors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1



*669 and Yugoslavia. The condition of their country was one of relative prosperity; for the Italian occupation had enriched the people, while the recovery of the Kossovo had made supplies of food plentiful and cheap. At the same time the endemic poverty of the Albanians was such that, having little to lose and small hope of acquiring wealth by lawful means, they welcomed [181] disorder whenever it was attended by opportunities of plunder. To this natural lawlessness occasioned by their poverty was added a proud people's impatience of foreign rule. If the Italians had been less in evidence, their occupation might have been more easily tolerated. As it was, the Albanians bitterly resented the intrusions into their daily lives of the ubiquitous *carabinieri*, whose efforts to enforce order among a people accustomed to anarchy were as unpopular as they were vain.

Besides these general causes of discontent, the one inherent in the circumstances of the Albanians, the other in the character of their conquerors, there were other influences making for unrest of a more local, if no less important, application. In • [184] North Albania the mercenary factor in the economy of the tribes made revolt a constant possibility. So rugged indeed was their region, and so complete the absence of social or political inhibitions among them, that the Ghegs could always be provoked to insurrection whenever the expectations of victory or gain appeared commensurate to the risks involved. In South Albania the causes of discontent were of a more usual character and sprang from the naturally conflicting interests of the landless peasants and the *Beys* whose estates they worked. The wretched lot of the Moslem peasantry might be somewhat alleviated by the sense of belonging to the same community as their masters; but the religious distinction which separated the Orthodox *rayah* from the Islamised landowners only served to increase their class consciousness. These Orthodox peasants had long been ripe for revolt; and indeed Fan Noli had sought to exploit their discontent in the revolution of 1924. Now, however, for the first time they found effective leaders in the youth of the towns.

177 668 The spread of Italian influence during the reign of King Zog had encouraged the growth of a new class of officials and

10; Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl



Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl



couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl



avenge or to be avenged by his maternal 'uncle', that is to say, the males in his mother's family. The two men belonged to different households, and if one attempted independently to avenge the other, he meddled in business that was no concern of his and so could only involve himself in a separate feud. The men of Shkrel in the Malësi e Madhe who felt so little duty towards their maternal 'uncle' that they would entertain his murderer were therefore within their rights. On the other hand, in central and east Albania—in Çermenikë, Dibër, Kurbin, Lumë and Martanesh—it was held that a man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' but could be avenged by him, a law said in Kurbin to have been of Skanderbeg's making. As a corollary, if a native of these districts did avenge his maternal 'uncle', he plumed himself on the deed more than a nephew in the male line could have done; the latter, as a member of the dead family, could not escape the obligation and would not have been involved in a new feud as he, the outsider, had been.

The confused practice is locally explained as follows: A man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' because he was the son of his mother and she as a woman had no rifle, presumably to hand on to him with all its offensive and defensive possibilities; the rifle he carried came to him as a member of his father's family. On the other hand, he could be avenged by his maternal 'uncle' for the same reason that the latter was entitled, when his 'sister's' daughter was married, to receive a 'maternal uncle's fee' at the time of the wedding and, if she was afterwards killed, to avenge her. For the maternal 'uncle' regarded his 'sister's' children as his own and as part of his own household; in Kurbin, indeed, a man owned a quarter share in his 'sister's' son. Further, since a woman could not carry a rifle, a 'sister' could not defend herself, and therefore, retained the right for herself and her children to be protected by her 'brother'. In Dibër, where rich and powerful men were so few that girls must often be given in marriage to men who were neither, this feeling that 'sisters' and their issue might require protection was pronounced.

In south Albania, on the other hand, a man would both avenge and be avenged by his maternal 'uncle'. A classic instance of the former process at Melesinë near Leskovik is commemorated in the song beginning:

> Melesinë on a hill,
> For his uncle fights a sister's son.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl



This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother.

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider.

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son

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## SECTION II.

### CHAPTER VIII.

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291

### Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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177

Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIf).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1926.

[Text continues on p. 36]

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## XI

S A 184 586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry [587] the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A 58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands S 587 563 with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Šaban Lepi, living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

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343

When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

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Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

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In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

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In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

## BULGARIA

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Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

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Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions

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in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

In the front its centre is taken by a large open room, also disposed 342
at right angles, whose roof is supported by wooden poles. Both ends of the front part of the house are occupied by brick-walled rooms. The construction of a stone-built staircase, leading to the upper floor, is characteristic of the construction mode. The staircase consists of two branches, it is internal and pierces through the floor of the veranda. Its steps are supported by two quarter-circle arches, and the landing by a semi-circular arch. If Scodra were not mentioned in [171]
the picture, we would imagine this house to be in Yannena or Arta (1). It is well known, that steps placed on arches are widely used at

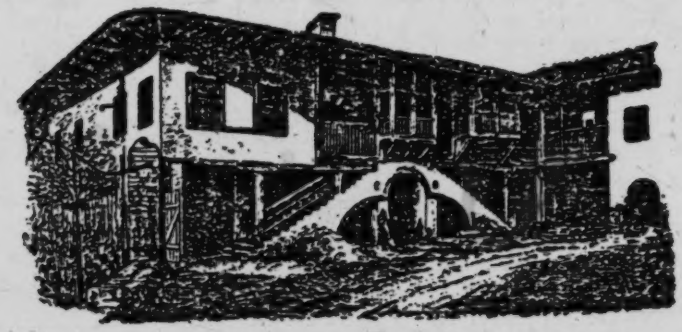

Fig. 74. Old house of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 36)

the houses of Mystras; they remained in use at the popular houses [171]
of Greece until the beginning of 19th century, a characteristic element of Byzantine architecture which, according to An. Orlandos, «not only resulted in economy of space and building materials, but also gave lightness and grace to the staircase» (2).

The house of Middle Albania presents a similar evolution as [184]
that of Northern Albania despite the great difference in habits and customs displayed by the population on either side of the Genouses (3).

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1) **A. Zachos,** Ἠπειρ. Χρονικά vol. 3 (1928) Table 5, 6 and 8 **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος vol. B. pp. 186, 189, 191 **Ang. Hadjimihali,** L'Art Populaire Grec, Athènes. 1937 p. 59 Fig. 24. Comp. **Ang. Hadjimihali,** Ἑλλ. Λαϊκὴ Τέχνη, Athens 1931 p. 175 Fig. 179 Ρουμλούκι, Τρίκερι, Ἰκαρία.

2) See **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχεῖον Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος. Volume C. 1937 p. 60 and foll.

3) See **A. Keramopoullos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι γείτονες, p. 200.